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AMERICA MUST FACE UP TO IT

The burden of war guilt

"NEVER," said Progressive Party chairman and secy. Elmer Benson and C. B. Baldwin in a message to President Truman last week, "has man's inhumanity to man been so tragically demonstrated as in Korea. . . . The reputation of our country is at stake, and that is more important than the face of the President, the Secy. of State Gen. MacArthur."

The GUARDIAN (Aug. 16, 23; Oct. 4, 11; Nov. 22) has reported regularly on the atrocities committed against the people of Korea during the "UN police action" which, as even a Hearst columnist writes, has "degenerated into a bloody botch." On this page further details are given by a well-known and reliable Czech journalist.

More than the reputation of our country is actually at stake. A burden of guilt is being piled up by our bipartisan war government, which the American people must eventually shoulder just as surely as we expected the German nation to do as a consequence of not stopping Hitler.

THE point of this comment is that there is still time—but very little time—to keep the burden of American war guilt from growing any larger.

The time is short because, as our forces back out of the shambles of Korea, we move toward making an even more horrible shambles of Europe.

Gen. Eisenhower left last week to take command of Atlantic Pact forces, which are now envisioned as including rearmed Nazis and army corps from Fascist Spain. Departing, the General prayed his mission might bring peace.

But the kind of peace ahead for Atlantic Pact Europe is being frankly and terrifyingly described in other texts than Eisenhower's.

The **Wall St. Journal** says that while we may enter talks with Russia over the European situation, it will not be to seek agreement but "to twist the tail of the Russian bear." If Russia then strikes back, instead of howling in retreat, we would back out of Europe as we have from Korea, using our now familiar "scorched earth" policy to ensure there was nothing usable left.

According to **U. S. News**, European industry "would be blown up before the Russians moved in. If not, U. S. bombs could finish the job."

THE U. S. bombs referred to are the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

The "Hell-bomb" is more fully introduced to us in a book of that title by William L. Laurence, N.Y. **Times** science writer who was privy to the secrets of the A-bomb while it was being constructed during the last war.

In addition to the run-of-the-mill Hell-bomb which merely deals out Blast, Fire and Radioactive Death, there is in the works a large economy-size "rigged" H-bomb. This one can theoretically be rigged to spread death and debility for years to come, over an unlimited expanse.

This is how we would "scorch the earth" in Europe in the event the Bear strikes back at the twisting of its tail. And to reassure the people of Europe and America of the morality of such a policy, Rev. Father Edmund Walsh of Georgetown University says the use of atomic bombs wherever there is "a Soviet feint" is comparable to the action of Jesus Christ, "who did not disdain to seize the lash to drive the hypocrites [sic] out of the temple."

EVEN the soothsaying of Father Walsh can hardly win the people of Europe to welcoming these prospects. They are more apt to hark back to avowals of peace by force uttered before World War II by Adolf Hitler, who said:

"As a peace-loving man I have made every effort to give this great nation the defense and weapons which are appropriate to persuade others for peace."

And later:

"Germany is the guarantor of peace because she warns all those who from Moscow endeavor to set the world in flames."

It is still within the power of the American people to prevent this monstrous travesty from going any further. The people must be informed and encouraged to act. Even if we might hope to survive the kind of holocaust our "peacemakers" have up their sleeves, our conscience as a nation would never let us rest unless we had taken every step possible to halt it.

And not even so highly-placed a cleric as Father Walsh can guarantee the indulgence of Providence for the abettors of world destruction.

—THE EDITORS

UN photo

KOREA: LAND OF THE HOMELESS
See Jiri Hronek (below) and Editorial (left)

Would Americans condone these murders if they knew the full truth?

By Jiri Hronek

(Jiri Hronek, secretary-general of the International Organization of Journalists, was in Korea during the fall retreat of the North Korean armies. He has written this eye-witness report exclusively for the GUARDIAN. Once before Mr. Hronek wrote for the GUARDIAN: a hopeful farewell to America when, as a Czech delegate to the Waldorf Peace Conference, he left for home in April, 1949.)

PRAGUE

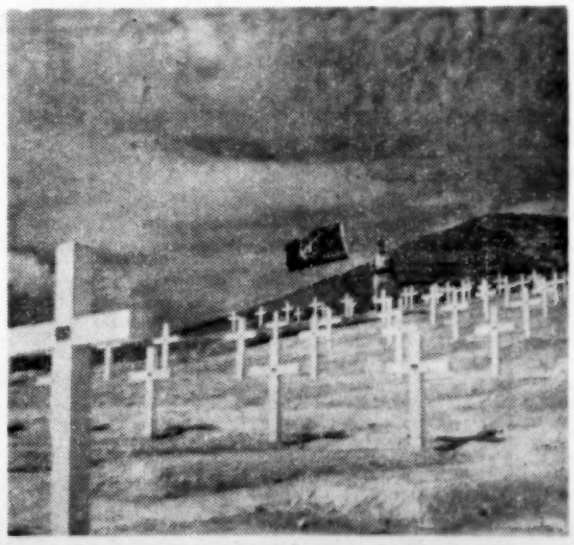
THIS IS A WARNING to the people of America, a warning written by a man who has seen with his own eyes what has been happening in Korea and who has asked himself this question: Is it possible to believe that the American people would condone the murders and brutality committed by the U. S. armed forces in Korea if they fully knew their extent?

This is the plain truth: Superior American know-how, especially in the air, has been used for the mass-murder of tens of thousands of innocent people—old men, women and children. The U.S. forces have done nothing to stop the bestial crimes of Syngman Rhee's soldiers; on the contrary, evidence points to the fact that the American officers have been using the South Korean army to do the meanest butcher jobs, which they have done with unparalleled frightfulness.

THEY WILL NOT BREAK: I came home full of bitterness and anger—but also full of admiration for a people which endures so much with such great spirit. I was firmly convinced that such a people can never be beaten into submission. I also returned with the conviction that the American people have shouldered a heavy responsibility for the horrors of Korea. These are some of the things I have seen:

Peaceful villages wiped out by U. S. bombers far from military targets—no armies or industries there, only the humble dwellings of farmers and the old farmers and their womenfolk and children. . . . A farmer killed on his field. . . . A child, shrieking and half-demented, sitting by its mother lying in a pool of blood—killed by a U. S. bomb moments before. . . . The bodies of children who had been machine-gunned by U. S. planes as they bathed in a brook. . . . Hospitals whose only remains were a pile of bricks and the Red Cross emblem.

I brought home with me a "gift" from the children of the village of Man Chon. It is part of a belt of American cartridges. American planes attacked the village school and machine-gunned the children as they fled.



UN CEMETERY IN KOREA

WHERE'S THE PROTEST? I have seen Korean cities after "carpet bombing" attacks—the most inhuman method invented by aerial strategists. During World War II there was considerable division of opinion in the U. S. and Britain as to whether Nazi Germany—guilty of so much frightfulness—should be carpet-bombed. How many voices have been raised in those countries today in protest against this practice in Korea?

Do the American people know how these cities are bombed? First come the heavy bombers, then the incendiaries, then the strafing of terrified civilians. Do they know that to kill a man by machine-gun the gunner must be able to see his target? The man who killed the children in the brook saw them alive. The man who killed the mother missed the child perhaps by chance. The man who killed the farmer saw him working his field.

I cannot believe that the American people, if they were informed, would passively submit to the fact that the misdeeds of the American army are arousing hatred against America not only in the Far East, but among all the people of the world who have a human conscience.

THE KOREANS KNOW: It is not yet too late. All the Koreans with whom I have spoken know there is a division in the U.S. They know that there are those who have ordered this senseless slaughter, and those who fight against this war.

Terror bombing will not bring a people to knee. Hitler tried it in Britain and Russia and failed. Have we so soon forgotten that in the Nuremberg trials one of the charges against Nazi Air Marshal Goering (Part II, War Crimes: G) was this:

> . . . willful destruction of cities, townships, villages and other crimes of destruction without military necessity. . . .

This part of the accusation referred to Article VI of the Charter of the UN, under whose very banner the same crimes are now being committed by Americans.

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THE MAIL BAG

How to fight back

RICHMOND, CALIF.

NOW ENGAGED IN STRUGGLE TO RESCIND BAN ON GUARDIAN AT U. OF CALIFORNIA CAMPUS STORE. PUBLICITY HAS RESULTED IN GREAT INTEREST IN PAPER ON PART OF STUDENTS. PLEASE SEND 50 COPIES OF DEC. 27 ISSUE AIRMAIL SPECIAL AND INCREASE WEEKLY DELIVERY.

William E. Cook

Cankered gold

FINDLAY, OHIO

I notice by tonight's news that "the works of Mark Twain have suddenly disappeared from American schools and libraries." This was supposedly heard over a Chinese broadcast but refuted by the newspapers as Communist propaganda.

Mark Twain's remarks such as "gold is their God" and "their religion is the search for gold" do touch some to the quick. Nor does one need to read Twain to see the "handwriting on the wall." Only read James 4: 1-4, starting out: "From whence came wars and fighting among you? . . ." Also James 5: 1-7:

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered. And the rest shall be a witness against you. . . ."

We only need to read the Bible to see the prophecies coming to pass.

A friend

A woman and a dog

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Re Ernest Seeman's letter Nov. 10: "There are thousands today eating out of garbage cans. . . ." I know such miserable souls personally. They compete with mongrel alley dogs. One woman reached into a garbage can, got hold on a big ham bone and discovered a small dog had a grip on the other end and wouldn't let go. He bit her hand. She said she was ashamed to fight for the bone, the dog really had a priority and as she could still walk and there were other garbage cans she let the dog have it.

R. E. H.

Canned killers

STANTON, DEL.

Farmers, consumers and future war victims—beware! For the last 8 months facts about several deadly "nerve gas" war chemicals, being sold (presumably temporarily) as insecticides, have been reviewed by the Food and Drug Administration. Very little information has been given to those most endangered, and the products are still being sold.

Parathion (Monsanto Chemical Co.'s "Niran"), sold to kill mites, moths, aphids, Japanese beetles, etc., was used as a "nerve gas" by the armies of Germany and the U.S. It is poisonous to people if inhaled or absorbed through the skin. More than a dozen farm workers and chemical packers died in the last 2 years from Parathion poisoning. Even more poisonous are TEPP (tetrathyl pyrophosphate—Monsanto's "Nifos") and HETP (hexaethyl tetraphosphate), both being used as insecticides.

Nobody knows how many unknown deaths may be due to residues of these poisons on fruits and vegetables reaching the consumer. It is high time action was taken to stop production of these deadly war chemicals and replace them with safe peacetime insecticides. How? When you vote don't put your life in the hands of a bribe-accepting double dealer. We cannot afford to lose one progressive GUARDIAN angel to the morticians. Better that they "abide with us!"

E. H. C. O.

A voice for Asia

TUCSON, ARIZ.

Would it not be an extension of democracy if India and Pakistan were made permanent members of the Security Council? Surely such sovereign nations representing such large numbers of people should have an equal voice in world affairs with Britain, France, U.S., Russia and China.

A reader

Read it once a week

PORT MATILDA, PA.

The greatest present we can give at this season of the year, is one day a week in the cause of Peace rather than one day a week in preparing for war, by reading how God built a new nation after it was destroyed by the flood. This new nation was started through Abraham, and stood until the people would not listen to the prophecies of Jeremiah, although it was saved 100 years through the prophecies of Isaiah.

You are giving seven days a week in the cause of Peace.

C. W. C.

To each his faith

LOOMIS, CALIF.

Glad to hear from the Baptist in Communist China, and will say I like to see everyone have the religion it takes to satisfy his soul, and the social set-up it takes to satisfy his body (at least his belly). But when I go to hear a sermon that attacks people for wanting that set-up, my soul is "fed up" instead of fed.

Della E. Lonnem

Such as believe

PASADENA, CALIF.

Thank you for your brave card of holiday remembrances! Because I haven't money to give (not what can be counted as money) I share my paper each week as it comes.

I have hope founded on the courage of such people as continue to believe in face of every evil force what Matthew Arnold told us many years ago:

"The will is free:
Strong is the soul, and wise, and beautiful:
Gods are we, Bards, Saints, Heroes, if we will."

Alice Haines Baskin

No plenty unless—

ASTORIA, ORE.

One of the arguments against ownership by the people of the means of production is that its advocates begrudge the big capitalists their good things. The fact is that we do not begrudge them any good thing. We want everyone to have good things. But we do resent their having the power to create scarcities and keep others from having the plenty that is their birthright. And we resent most of all their power to send our sons to their death in the interest of their power and wealth.

We know that as long as wealth is accumulated into the hands of a few, we shall have poverty, scarcity and war. "Great truths always dwell a long time with small minorities, and the real voice of God is often that which rises above the masses, not that which follows them."—Lieber.

Reader

He didn't want it

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This one will stun you:

Recently I answered an ad in the previous day's New York Times which read: "ARMY ADM ASST, to 35, Knl Typing, Kno Army Administ Procedures . . . Ross Employment Service, 20 Vesey St., interviews 9 to 3."

At 9:30 a.m. I found 10 or 15 men—obviously all veterans—waiting in line at the Ross Employment Service. A blond man of about 40 was speaking to the man at the head of the line. The line melted away fast. Apparently no one qualified for the job.

Finally my turn came. The blond man looked at me sidewise, shame plainly written all over his face. He said, "Are you willing to join the National Guard? You have to join the Guard to get this job. The job is for Technical Sergeant in the National Guard at $260 per month. Do you want it?"

I said "No!" and walked out of the place. Outside a group of us gathered. We found it hard to believe.

What I want to know is this: Does the sergeant have to pay the Ross Employment Service a large employment fee? And isn't it possible to court-martial a commanding officer who recruits enlisted men through commercial employment agencies?

Alex Efthim

Restore the balance

VANCOUVER, WASH.

Am surprised that your paper prints so many truths. Had almost given up hope of hearing any more truths in print until our great, rich country is ruined by greedy men.

No ordinary sensible penson wants war, yet we know there are those who do. Only people who have become mentally unbalanced with greed would desire wars and depressions. It is up to us, the people, to save our country from greed.

Eugene Van Leiss

Forgotten Commandment

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

I am a mother of two young men. My oldest son was in World War II. He has been very sick since he came home. Nothing but misery to me. I also have a 19-year-old son they may call any time.

I am against wars. If all people would be progressive I think we wouldn't have any wars. Why can't people vote for the right man and go by the 6th Commandment in our Bible, "Thou shall not kill?" And why don't they enforce that Commandment?

I am sending $2 for your GUARDIAN. We believe the whole trutn is in this paper. We can sure use this $2 for other things but I feel you need this money as bad as we do to establish the truth.

A reader

Get subs — Send $$ to the Guardian.

REPORT TO READERS

Your renewal NOW will pay the printer

BEFORE YOU LEAVE the Mail Bag, may we twist your arm $2 worth?

We'd very much like your John (or Jane) Hancock in the blank at the lower left-hand corner of this page, with your correct address and remittance for your 1951 subscription renewal.

EVEN if your sub has a month or more to run, we'd STILL like your renewal now. We've made it simple by enclosing a postage-paid return envelope in a New Year's letter you have surely received from us by now. Please use it today!

You (or almost all of you) subscribed to the GUARDIAN in 1950 at a $1 discount rate. Frankly, your $1 has long since been spent, and we've been operating in the red as a result. But the effect of our discount was to build a circulation which, if renewed now at the full $2 rate, can keep the paper going for all of 1951.

THE GUARDIAN needs its 1951 nest-egg now, rather than in dribs and drabs later, so that we can devote full energies to circulation-building instead of fund-raising and just holding ourselves up by our bootstraps. That's why we make so bold as to ask you to shoot your $2 in now even if it's not yet quite due. (Naturally the renewal will be for a full year beyond your present expiration date, whenever it is).

Later, we'll be back with the statistics to show how this paper can actually be built to the million circulation we used to write about all the time. But today the theme is a wholesale renewal of all present GUARDIAN subscribers. If you can't afford the $2, we'll trust you—but remember we can't pay the printer with your good intentions. So try to scrape it up and let's get going for 1951.

OF COURSE if you've already sent your $2 for 1951, you can use the blank below to sign up a friend. You must know SOMEONE who should be getting the GUARDIAN but isn't. Whoever it is, better spend the $2 on him this way than over the bar.

But whatever you're going to do, get going on it. Don't just stand there!

—THE EDITORS.

Bread of life

NEW PALTZ, N. Y.

Your NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the bread of life, keeping hope and courage alive. Thank you for your greeting! May the New Year realize the prayers of God and the people for peace.

(Rev.) Lee H. Ball

Perish the point!

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

Enclosed is $25 sent by a friend in France, Robert Cresswell, who asked that I forward it to you—"both to renew my subscription and the rest to help out. They need it worse than I do. Or rather, if it gets to the point where they don't need it, I probably won't either."

A. R. Leah

The buck is strong

REDWOOD CITY, CALIF.

Here's my $2 renewal.

Enclosed is an extra buck in appreciation for the great work you are all doing. My appreciation is far greater than that actually—but the spirit is willing, etc.

Gordon N. Hurtel

Otherwise, darkness

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The GUARDIAN is truly a wonderful publication, and a necessity for any one wishing to know the truth about the world today. It should be especially appreciated at this time when the "enemy" is closing in on the freedom of speech and thought.

All the best of wishes for your success and well-being as you turn the light on where otherwise there is only darkness and confusion."

(Mrs.) Ieae Carr Putnam

The murk will vanish

BUTTE, MONT.

Enclosed is my little token. Your GUARDIAN is a voice in the wilderness in a world gone mad and is worth many times what you charge for it. I wish I could have sent more. Its murky outside, politically speaking, and it is bound to get worse before it gets better—so don't despair. People have to learn the hard way.

A. E. Anderson

Love that truth

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

You don't know how much we love your paper and how eagerly we await it. Thanks for bringing us the truth. Your paper is like a refreshing whiff of air in this stagnant smog. May you never change.

Mrs. & Mrs. Freemark and daughter Eleanor

Constructive razzing

NAMPA, IDAHO

I razzed an old fellow I have known for a long time about his paying out good money for reactionary papers when he should support a paper that is for the people. He claims to be able to make the right conclusions anyway. But I said his money supports the enemy. He said here is two dollars, send me the GUARDIAN. Here's the $2.

W. H. Willard

No time for division

MOBERLY, MO.

I often differ with the opinions of Progressive Party leaders and with the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. That is a right that we must preserve in the party and in the world. However, the time for division is past. To other "crimes against humanity" should be added the division and weakening of the forces of the Left—especially the American Left.

(Rev.) David W. Janes

Start the ball rolling for '51

Send your Guardian

Renewal Off Today

Here's MY $2 now. Extend my present subscription for a full year when my expiration date rolls around. No need to send me a renewal notice in 1951.

(Please PRINT—Include Zone)

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

$2 enclosed ☐

$..... contribution

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y

Who made war?

GOD, who made the shining stars,
The circling planets, the fair, green earth,
With friendly seasons—jubilant spring,
Beautiful summer, winter that puts tired life to rest;
God, who made morning songs, sweet night crooning;
God of the forest and silver rivers,
Gardens and orchards of green and golden,
God of harmony, God of beauty,
Who made War?

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK, in "Red Harvest—A Cry for Peace."

WAR & PEACE

82d Congress opens in bankrupt, boozy Washington

Vie Nuove, Rome

Tell her we're too busy to see her.

THE 82nd Congress convened under a pall of confusion, gloom, angry frustration. A veteran Congressman said that in 16 years in the capital he had never seen so much drunkenness among government officials and legislators as during the past weeks.

"They're not happy drunks," he said. "They're drinking to escape."

The bankruptcy of the Administration was no longer concealed. On Capitol Hill two labor-hating jimcrow spokesmen for the Texas oil trust, Arizona's McFarland and Texas' Johnson, captured Senate Democratic leadership after what progressives could only see as a sham fight by Fair Dealers. The House abolished the 21-day rule, thereby restoring to the Dixiecrat-dominated Rules Committee power to block legislation indefinitely.

BLOOD, SWEAT, ETC.: At the Pentagon Gen. Eisenhower, before leaving to take over his Atlantic Pact command in Paris, urged "sacrifices" and a cut in draftees' pay from $80 to $10 a month. The Defense Dept. demanded drafting of 18-year-olds and a 30-month tour of service.

From the Council of Economic Advisers came the suggestion that low-income groups be taxed more heavily and that wages be lowered to a level determined by available stocks of consumer goods and possibly "deferred."

WHERE & HOW? With the war camp split by defeat in Korea, the nation's great foreign-policy debate—described as "the hottest in U.S. history"—moved into Congress where it became a fight over where and how World War III should be fought. The Administration was still set on fighting the socialist world on the Eurasian continent. The Hoover school wants to rely on sea and air power and the atom bomb, using Japan, Formosa, Britain, Australia, Africa, etc. as "expendable" off-shore bases.

The President's right to send troops to Korea without authorization of Congress, challenged last June 27 only by the ALP's Vito Marcantonio, was denounced last week by several congressmen. Rep. Coudert (R-N.Y.), wartime friend of Vichy whose law firm has served many fascist clients, sought to bar the President from sending more forces abroad without Congress' consent. Sen. Taft (R.-O.), who hailed Truman's June 27 decision at the time, said the President had "usurped authority in violation of the laws and the Constitution."

DEATH IN FANCY DRESS: In a 10,000-word attack on Truman's foreign policy, Taft said several of the things Progressives have been saying from the start. He saw no "conclusive evidence that the Russians expect to start a war with the U.S." He found the veto essential to the UN. He called illegal the Security Council decisions on Korea, taken with Russia absent. He denounced the Acheson Plan, which gives the UN General Assembly powers properly belonging to the Security Council.

The father of the Taft-Hartley Law said he hoped "more friendly relations" could be established with Russia through the UN, that Europe should not be forced to rearm, that creation of a large land army there would tend to provoke war, and that one of the greatest dangers to peace is the conduct of the U.S. government.

What he proposed was not a peace policy, but simply another way of fighting communism "on the world stage." His proposal for "holding Formosa" (also proposed by Hoover) was in effect a demand for war with China. He wanted to "assist with sea and air forces" such potential bases as Britain, Japan, Australia and Indonesia, from which continental bombing operations on a vast destructive scale could be carried out. He wanted sea and air power built up but the military budget reduced to $40,000,000,000 a year.

ANGRY PEOPLE: The President asserted he did have the right, challenged by both Taft and Coudert, to send more troops abroad without Congress' consent. He answered Taft in his State of the Union message where he spent 30 minutes denouncing Russia, about five on the state of the union. He said that a gun pointed at any member of the "free world" is a "a gun pointed at us"; the U.S. must help its allies in order to keep its uranium sources.

Congress cheered only when he said there must be "rigid economies in non-defense activities." It applauded his promise of "a major increase in taxes," sat on its hands when he said the U.S. would fight on in Korea for justice and freedom.

Behind the lawmakers' speeches were, as the **Wall St. Journal** pointed out, angry letter-writing constituents. "All lawmakers agree," it said, that their mail "is predominantly anti-Administration and basically pro-Hoover." A Chicago **Daily News** survey came to the same conclusion. Statements made by congressmen to the two papers suggested that Hoover's public appeal lay in his demands to get out of Korea and Europe rather than his alternative war program. "What are they fighting over there for?" is a common query, the Chicago paper said.

Many senators reported, as did Schoeppel (R-Kan.), that "overwhelmingly the letter writers want to get out of Korea." The "meagre response" (N.Y. **Times**) to Republican foreign policy-maker John Foster Dulles' speech confirmed this interpretation. Dulles tried to keep a foot in each side of the war camp. The **Wall St. Journal** hailed his speech as a repudiation of the Truman Doctrine; but the public seemed to agree with the Chicago **Tribune**, which commented:

> Mr. Dulles will send the boys off to war with hymn singing, but that is the only departure from the old Truman program.

NO VOICE FOR PEACE: N.Y. **Times** and **Wall St. Journal** correspondents in Washington agreed that despite its mail

Congress would do nothing to alter Administration foreign policy. In view of the basic identity of the policies of both war camps, the battle in Washington could only resolve itself into a partisan fight with each side seeking to harness anti-war sentiment to its own war program. (Gov. Dewey's demand for unprecedented war powers in N.Y.—the right to conscript labor, property, private assets, lengthen the work week, supersede existing laws—indicated what some warmakers had in mind.)

With Marcantonio out of Congress there would be no voice raised there for a policy of peace as the best defense of America.

IN EUROPE

Everyone wants to talk about peace

IN Western Europe the Taft speech gave impetus to the movement for neutrality—already so strong it had forced the three Western powers to accept "in principle" Soviet proposals for a four-power conference. The N.Y. **Times** reported from Paris that the speech

> . . . would accentuate the already marked tendency to believe . . . that the best policy for Europe would be that of neutrality . . . and the widespread distrust of U. S. foreign policy.

The prompt Soviet reply to the U.S.-British-French note (answering its own proposal for a conference on Germany) further widened the rift between the U.S. and its Western allies. Russia indicated willingness to broaden the basis of discussion but insisted that German demilitarization was the key issue. The State Dept. expressed dissatisfaction, put pressure on Britain and France to reject the note, and inspired dispatches denouncing Russia for trying to "divide the allies." But the N.Y. **World-Telegram's** Ludwell Denny reported from London:

> France wants to accept. . . . The British Government is almost as anxious to get on with the Russian meeting at nearly any price. . . . This allied disagreement is not only over the attitude toward the Russian conference . . . but also over Western European rearmament. Britain and France . . . hope that an agreement with Mr. Stalin will make rearmament unnecessary.

(Continued on following page)

MAX WERNER

The 2nd battle for S. Korea

THE main theme of the campaign in South Korea is not the fate of Seoul, or Taejon, or even Pusan. It is the severe and final test of the military quality of the Chinese Army.

The July-to-September North Korean push from the 38th Parallel to the Naktong river was militarily interesting only as an illustration of the action the forward echelon of Asian military power could carry out. This time the UN defense is based on a thorough build-up over six months, with two-thirds of the U.S. Army's trained professional soldiers engaged.

"HORDES" IN ACTION: The Chinese offensive has already shown two important features:

> (1) In its first phase Chinese land power has thwarted UN air power, though UN air forces have been thoroughly prepared and amassed for a series of relentless attacks against Chinese troop columns and supply routes. Time and again, skillful camouflage and painstaking adaptation have given to land power an edge over air power.
>
> (2) Chinese troops have shown their ability to storm and overcome well-prepared defense positions. On the Seoul front they waged intensive onslaughts in many waves. UN forces were not dispersed as in North Korea, but relatively concentrated and well-entrenched in a beachhead-type position. The UN troops have not yet played their last trump in defense, but the Chinese have already shown stubbornness and good "western" style in attack against a solid defense front.

However, in the news from the Korean front not the single tactical details, but the strategic conclusions, are decisive. It turns out that unit by unit the Asian troops on the front line, with mass reserves behind them, can be equal to the crack Western troops that do **not** have a mass army to reinforce and relieve them.

"I wonder why those Chinese are so anxious for us to get out of Korea?"

TIME TO RE-TABULATE: It is this experience of the Korean campaign, and not the single battle lost, or territory given up, which must produce a shock effect on the Western world. The mass armies of Asia are obviously and additionally tipping the scales of the international relationship of power.

Usually in the great tabulation of forces the U.S. Army has been compared to the Soviet Army, or the forces of the Atlantic coalition to the forces of the Soviet bloc in Europe. Yet if the military reserves of Asia can equal the fighting capacity of the best Western troops, then the entire picture must be radically revised.

There is no doubt that the U.S. divisions are superior to any array of West European troops, and certainly to the rather motley composition of French, West German, British, Italian and Benelux troops that altogether form the projected Atlantic Army of 1952-53.

There is no doubt on the other hand that the Soviet Russian Army is far superior to the Chinese land forces.

EUROPE WONDERS: The development of the South Korean campaign is being followed, therefore, with halted breath in London, Paris, Rome and Bonn. In reality it is the defensibility of Western Europe that is being tested in South Korea.

The war in Korea has underlined the glaring deficiency of the Atlantic coalition in land power, and the immense demands on the manpower and combat power of the United States.

(Continued from preceding page)

DeGAULLE IN THE WINGS: In France the Soviet note sharpened a growing political crisis. The government prepared to bow to U.S. demands in launching a purge of Communists in government and naming an Ambassador to Franco Spain. But DeGaullists seemed to be launching an offensive against the government with the return of Gen. Billotte (De Gaulle's chief aide) from Washington where he had been seeking support for a coup d'etat. Billotte conferred with DeGaullist senators, who then defeated the government rearmament bill by refusing to vote credits.

The Progressive Union—a broad grouping embracing many political views, recently formed to work for a foreign policy of "active neutrality"—was mobilizing support in and out of France for a fight against German rearmament.

WOBBLING GERMANS: The West German government dealt a severe blow to U.S. policy when it announced "in response to mounting pressure throughout Western Germany and Berlin" (N.Y. **Times**) that it was considering acceptance of East German proposals for unity talks. The **Times** reported from Frankfurt "swelling tides of pacifism in Germany."

U.S.-West German talks on rearmament were to begin this week. They were likely to accomplish little, said the **Times**, because

> . . . there are differences between the Germans and Americans, between the Americans and the British and the French, and between the Western powers and the Germans.

Anne O'Hare McCormick, usually an ardent cold war supporter, in the N.Y. **Times** urged the U.S. to negotiate with Russia because

> . . . "inevitable war" is not the rallying cry. . . . Only the hope of peace will recruit powerful armies today. . . . It is necessary above all to convince people that every other effort to make peace [other than war] has been tried and tried again.

SOME OF THE BOYS GOT TOGETHER

Always time for a laff with the President. Here he is shown cocking a jocose ear to Treasury Secy. Snyder (l) as Secy. of State Acheson and Defense Secy. Marshall look on. They met him on his return from Independence.

IN THE FAR EAST

Treat China as equal: peace will follow

IF Washington's German policy threatened to divide the Western coalition, its China policy seemed designed to split it apart. At Lake Success the UN's cease-fire team reported failure last week. China wanted peace, but would negotiate only as an equal.

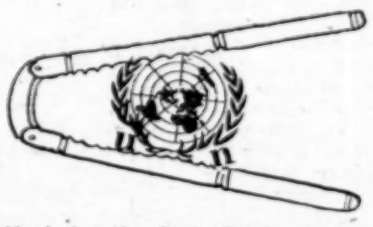
Outside the U.S. there was universal recognition that China's demands made sense. Even in the U.S., columnist Walter Lippmann urged recognition of

> . . . the fact . . . that nothing can be settled within the sphere of China's historic interest [which, he said, includes Japan, Formosa, Korea] without the participation of Red China.

Resistance to Washington prevented the U.S. in two meetings of the Assembly Political Committee last week from openly asking condemnation of China as an aggressor. British Commonwealth and Arab and Asian nations tried to work out a new program for settlement, based this time on Israel's stage-by-stage proposal—cease-fire, withdrawal of foreign troops, unification, general conference on the Far East. But the State Dept., though giving lip-service to this new effort, embarked on an arm-twisting campaign such as the UN, cynical in such matters, had never seen.

FRENZIED BLACKMAIL: From London the N.Y. **Times'** Sulzberger reported that the U.S. had demanded Britain and France join in condemning China as an aggressor, imposing economic sanctions, breaking diplomatic relations. He said there was

> . . . strong resistance . . . in the British Cabinet [which is] vigorously antipathetic to Washington's latest proposal. . . . There is indeed great anxiety in the Foreign Office at this moment about new U. S. efforts to embroil Britain still more deeply in what is privately regarded in London and other quarters as a Washington policy for the Far East that up to now has proved little short of "disastrous."



Next day the State Dept. announced it had opened "its most intensive UN diplomatic campaign" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**) to warn non-Communist nations that if the UN did not condemn China as an aggressor it would be "broken up." It also announced it had resumed arms shipments to Chiang.

KOREAN FAIRY TALES: The Washington demand backed into a corner the British Commonwealth nations meeting in London. Britain and India had planned to get the Commonwealth meeting to recognize China collectively as a necessary condition for peace in the Far East. South Africa, Australia and New Zealand were reported reluctant. Nehru told the meeting that following U.S. policy would mean war. Britain, with its economic interests in Hong Kong already imperiled because of the U.S. blockade (Rockefeller's Chase National Bank in Hong Kong announced it was closing down last week because there was no business), seemed unlikely to yield to the U.S. demand.

British newspapers were demanding that MacArthur clarify his "plans" in Korea. The London **Daily Mirror** correspondent, recalled for consultation, reported that "the world is not getting the truth" from Korea, that "Alice in Wonderland information" is handed out "at high levels" in both Tokyo and 8th Army headquarters. He called Air Force communiques "fairy tales."

In the U.S., Hanson Baldwin in the N.Y. **Times** called Tokyo estimates of enemy strength "confused, misleading, and sometimes fantastic." He cited as example a recent release which claimed four to seven Chinese armies were operating around Wonju, whereas troops in the field reported "they knew nothing of four Chinese armies but had been attacked by four reconstituted North Korean divisions." With the Korean offensive driving MacArthur's forces back toward the old Pusan beachhead, Tokyo imposed new and more severe censorship, forbidding reports on guerrilla actions, on "low morale or poor efficiency" of UN troops.

Deutschlands Stimme, Berlin

A present for Marianne.

Hit tune of 1951: the Song of Freedom

MRS. Laura Boulton, who gathers folk music in far-away places, was recording the wedding of the nephew of the Maharajah of Nepal shortly before the recent uprising there. She recalls, according to the New York **Times:**

> "Some of the younger men in the streets were singing songs complaining of poverty. I heard one good voice in particular and said, 'I'd like to get that.' My official interpreter urged me away. 'No, no,' he said, 'he doesn't sing well at all.'"

In Brunei, Borneo, Mrs. Boulton heard children of rubber tappers sing the "Cry for Freedom." In Indo-China "doll-like children stood at attention and sang soldiers' songs." So it was wherever she went, whether by elephant to the Kymbh Mela holy festival in India, by pony to the Tibetan border, by primitive boat up the rivers of Sarawak, by jeep at Pusan in Korea.

"It's in the air everywhere," she said, "a well-organized movement . . . a great tidal wave in Asia." She was disappointed to find that "there are so many nations who don't love America."

LABOR

Stabilization circus comes to town

WAGE stabilizers from union, management and government camps met at New York's Union Club last week in a "secret session", reported on the front page of the N.Y. **Times.**

It was called by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Assn. and advocate of labor-management collaboration. On one side there were Charles E. Wilson, in his capacity as ex-president of General Electric rather than as director of defense mobilization; Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors; Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel; Fowler McCormick of Intl. Harvester and Lewis Brown of Johns-Manville.

On the other were William Green of the AFL, Phillip Murray of CIO, John L. Lewis of the UMW and Al Hayes of IAM.

ON WITH THE SHOW: The discussion, said to have been "general and pleasant," was a curtain-raiser for the industry-labor conference called by the Wage Stabilization Board for the next week and designed to formulate a wage policy.

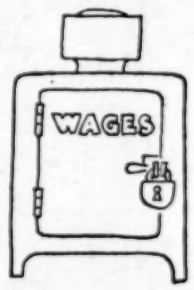
The **Journal of Commerce** predicted "a three-ring circus" with these acts:

- The AFL performers will attempt "feats of levitation."
- A tightrope walking act "in which Philip Murray will try to outdo his more youthful colleague, Walter Reuther."
- The big attraction: John L. Lewis "in feats of strength."

Who says rearming isn't moral?

WM. A. PATTERSON, president of United Air Lines, announced last week a practical new approach to labor relations based on "absolute honesty, purity, love and unselfishness."

At the Moral Rearmament Assembly held in Washington's plush Shoreham Hotel, he told how the formula averted a pilots' strike at American. The Airline Pilots Assn. had pressed 119 demands to the point of deadlock. Then the union's toughest negotiator, Larry Shapiro, suddenly became morally rearmed and the union's demands melted away to 13—all



now in process of settlement.

Mr. Shapiro testified that he had been "made over" by MRA; he saw that previously he had been "self-willed and stubborn." Mr. Patterson is now converted.

BEFORE & AFTER: Fritz Heske, a former Communist of the Ruhr, and Arthur Morrell, a shop steward at Ford's plant in England, had once been self-willed and stubborn, too, they explained. Then they rearmed morally. Heske reported that workers in his plant now work six days a week instead of five and twice a month on Sundays. Morrell has apologized to his superintendent "for a hatred I had for him," and production has increased.

(A similar "offensive inside the hearts" was also Formosa's only hope, the conference was told. Morally rearmed Formosan Francis Lin said: "The Seventh Fleet is not enough.")

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Still stubborn

OTHER labor leaders stubbornly persisted in rallying resistance to high taxes, wage freeze and wage cuts. Not since the revolution had oppressive taxation affected so many Americans. The problem was moved squarely into labor's jurisdiction last week by general officers of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers who called the tax bite an out-and-out wage cut.

UE President Albert Fitzgerald, Secy.-Treas. Julius Emspak and Director of Organization James Matles called on workingmen everywhere to fight "in the political as well as in the collective bargaining field" against cuts and freezes. They called the National Wage Stabilization Board's course of action "a deliberate program to wreck the American people's standard of living." On Dec. 17 the Board had announced plans "to minimize . . . the volume of money and credit available for spending on what will be at best a limited supply of civilian goods and services." The Board with the approval of CIO, AFL and Machinists leaders, also asked labor for "more output per

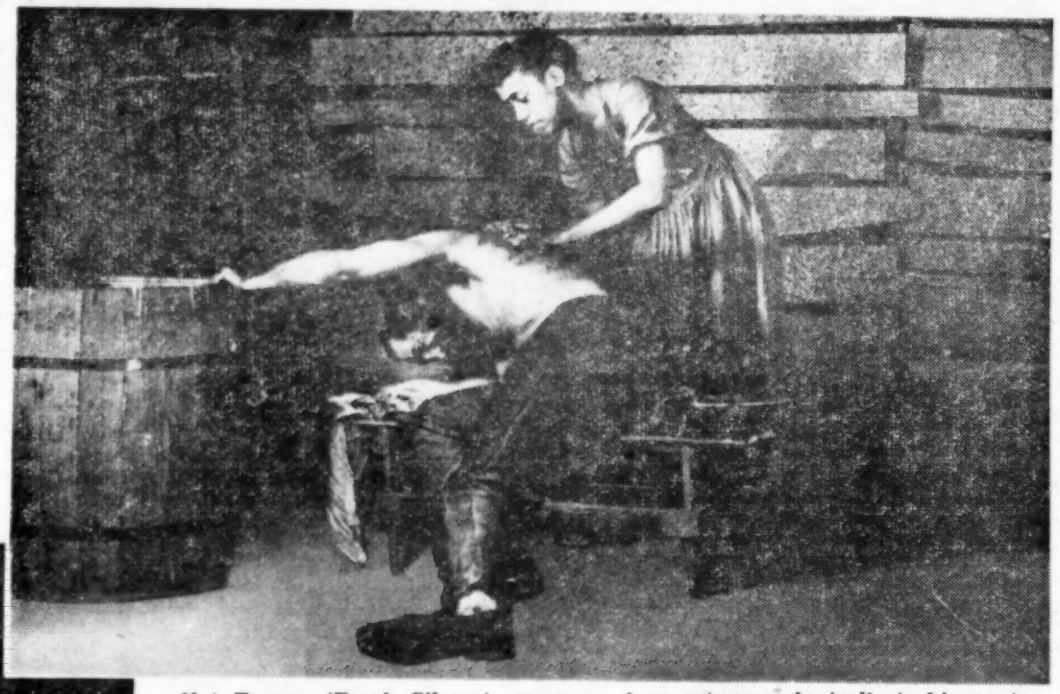
NAT TURNER: People's Drama brings theater to life—off Broadway

ON Aug. 21, 1831, Nat Turner, a mystical rebel, led a revolt of fellow Negro slaves against their masters in Southampton County, Va. The revolt was put down by troops—but not before it had fired the imagination of all opponents of slavery and spread panic throughout the slave-holding South. Turner was hanged on Nov. 11.

In a converted garage in Eldridge St. on New York's lower East Side, a brave band calling themselves People's Drama have established a theater and are putting on a fine dramatization by Paul Peters of the Nat Turner story. The performance is a stirring one, with some superlative players carrying their roles with fire and intelligence. If you have understood the "Guardian experiment" in American journalism, you will understand People's Drama. It is the same experiment in the theater: it deserves your support and you will profit by supporting it.

Keep Jan. 31 open

Reserve Wed. night, Jan. 31, for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN NIGHT performance of "Nat Turner" at box office prices: $2.40, $1.80, $1.20. Performance at People's Drama, 212 Eldridge St., N.Y.C. (F train on IND line to Second Av.) Call WO 4-1750 for reservations, or send cash, check or money order to Guardian Theater Party, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.



Nat Turner (Frank Silvera), runaway slave, returns voluntarily to his master, the revolt plan in his mind. He suffers the punishment of a runaway—a brutal lashing. His wife Stasia (Milroy Ingram), sensing his inner seething, washes his wounds.

With the rebellious band hiding in the woods is one prisoner, Willie Witcher (Lloyd Richards), the "handkerchief head" butler of the big house, devoted to the master, despised by his own people. He begs for—and wins—his freedom from Turner.

Turner is aware that his wife's master is planning to force her to marry another slave and to prevent him from seeing his son Redic (Donald Thompson), for whom he envisions a world free of the whip and the curse of the white master.

hour, working more hours a week." It left prices and profits almost untouched.

UE called for:

- Rent and price control with a roll-back to pre-Korea prices.
- Shifting tax burden from wage earners to corporations.
- Wage raises to compensate for present and future price rises.
- Protection of all wage provisions in existing contracts, retention of the right to fight speed-up or lengthening the work week.

TRAINMEN UNMOVED: Similarly stubborn were the nation's conductors, locomotive engineers, firemen and trainmen. They rejected the inadequate pay raise and the three-year pay freeze worked out by federal mediators and accepted by union negotiators after the rank-and-file rail strike in the fall.

AUTO WORKERS

War booms unemployment

THE war boom greeted in many quarters as economic salvation has raised Michigan's unemployed to 115,000, more than double the number in October.

Of these 50,000 worked at Ford, where another 42,000 more may be laid off in January. Ford has cut back car production 25%. When Chrysler's 20% cutback takes effect some 25,000 are to be laid off. General Motors has let 15,000 go.

A hair of the dog that bit him is the cure asked by Carl Stellato, president of the CIO United Auto Workers Local 600. He has complained to Washington that Ford is reluctant to plunge into full war production.

MARITIME

Waterfront martial law

"A LOT of people don't know that martial law exists on the waterfront," said Hugh Bryson, president of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.

The Coast Guard, under the pretext of screening "subversives", has been blacklisting union militants in all U.S. ports. The screen's mesh was tightened last week when the Coast Guard said compliance with its regulations would no longer be voluntary but compulsory. "Port security cards" were ready for officially-approved seamen and dock workers. Others would find little work.

HUGH BRYSON
The coastline is military

First victim of the tightening military screen in the San Francisco Bay area was longshore leader Henry Schmidt, convicted along with Harry Bridges of $64 perjury charges and, like him, appealing the verdict.

The Intl. Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union set Jan. 11 for an emergency conference at Longview, Wash., to consider the Coast Guard's martial law. Meanwhile ILWU members were asked to do nothing about winning the CG seal of approval.

Holiday Huey

APPLAUDING a strike settlement of Local 948 CIO Textile Workers Union in New Orleans, **CIO News** reported without further comment:

Only unsatisfactory angle: while the contract provides seven paid holidays, the union was unsuccessful in its fight to get the employer to substitute Huey Long's birthday for Independence Day.

CHICAGO

Decent citizens seek a LaGuardia

CHICAGO municipal elections were being carefully arranged last week, leaving as little as possible to chance and the voters.

Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, under fire for failure to curb the city's flourishing crime syndicates or remedy the murderous housing conditions, has filed for renomination.

A promising opponent, Republican Congressman Edgar Jonas, declined to run, paving the way for his party to set up a candidate who would assure Kennelly's victory April 3.

The man they chose was Robert Lee Hunter, member of the state civil service commission, hitherto an unlikely place to find political timber. A Chicago **Sun-Times** reporter asked what basis there might be for his interest in public life. Hunter said: "It's in my soul."

WESTERN BLOC: Similarly, a Republican Party group known as the "West Side Bloc" is persuading Democratic aspirants to withdraw from the City Council races. Big Jim Martin, a policy-racket boss of the 28th Ward, was hit by a shotgun blast while driving his car down Washington Blvd. shortly after the last elections. He was a strong supporter of Democratic Alderman George D. Kells. Big Jim left suddenly on a "long vacation" to Mexico. Other Kells supporters were slugged throughout the holiday week. On Dec. 28 Kells announced that for reasons of health he would not run. He and his family are now vacationing in Florida.

Other Democrats reportedly threatened, either in their own person or those of supporters, are: veteran Ald. James Bowler (25th ward); Ald. The-

(Continued on following page)

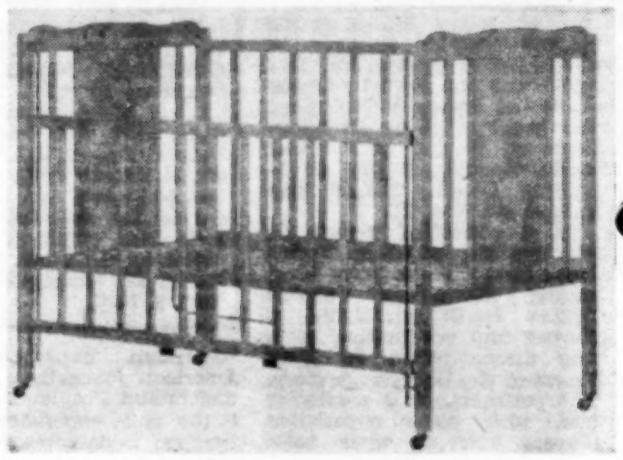
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

CRIBS BY THAYER

THE PROVINCIAL: Note special features — 4-position spring, double bedrails, double drop sides with bar-type foot release and automatic safety catch. Plastic teething rails, safety-spaced spindles, E-Z Roll casters. Finished in non-toxic Mapletone and Waxed Birch. Emamel finishes $3.75 extra, Baby Pink, Blue, Yellow, Grey, Green, White. ←
Normal retail price $48.50 up. GUARDIAN PRICE $34.50

BUDGET SPECIAL: Full 30x54" size. Single drop side with treadle release and safety catch. Safety-spaced spindles. All rounded edges, smooth gliding casters. Finished in non-toxic Mapletone or Waxed Birch with gay decals. →
Normal retail price $32.50 up. GUARDIAN PRICE $22

PERMA-COATED "FAIRHAVEN" MATTRESS (shown left)
Normal retail price $28.50 up GUARDIAN PRICE $15



THE DREAMLINER (above): Deluxe 2-in-1 carriage and stroller. Draft-proof, quilted; 3-position backrest, adjustable footwell. Body size 35½x18½x14 in. deep. Converts to stroller by raising backrest, unsnapping and lowering footwell. Five-bow, piped hood, storm shield and sun visor, chromium-plated fixtures. Flexible coated fabric on body and hood. All-steel, aluminum-finished chassis; "Trigger-Touch" lock; 3-position pusher. Adjustable foot brake, "Non-Tip" safety stand, body stabilizer. Wheels: 12-inch, 16-spoke; 4-inch chrome-plated hub caps, white tires, self-oiling wheel bearings. Colors: Army Blue, Navy Blue, Duchess Grey.
Normal retail price $68 up. GUARDIAN PRICE $47.50

THRIFTI-COACH (above): Triple-duty, folding carriage. Body may be lifted from chassis for auto travel or as bassinet. Draft-proof, posture back-rest, footwell; size 32x16½x14 inches. Four-bow hood with sun visor. Flexible coated fabric on body and hood. All-steel alumium chassis, foot brake; 10-inch, 12-spoke wheels, 2-inch chrome hub caps, ¾-inch tires. Colors: Grey, Turquoise, Army Blue.
Normal retail price $32.50 up GUARDIAN PRICE $23

BABY BUGGIES BY THAYER

THE AIR-LITE: All-aluminum folding stroller; heavy drill seat, spacious shopping bag; 5¼" self-oiling disc wheels; foot brake; wide foot rest. Colors: Blue or Maroon. →
Normal retail price $14.50 up
GUARDIAN PRICE (postpaid) $12.00
(Other buggies and strollers by Thayer on request.)

DELIVERY ON ALL ABOVE ITEMS, 4-6 WEEKS.

(Continued from preceding page)

ron Merryman (45th); Ald. Thomas Keene (331st); Committeeman Al Horan (29th).

When Mayor Kennelly sought to pacify the West Side Bloc by proposals for a coalition candidate in the 28th, Republican County Chairman John Leonard (Bunny) East said:

> "It's not kosher for the Democrats to complain now just because workers for Kells and Al Horan are getting pushed around by somebody. For 20 years the Democrats pushed my workers around and I never complained."

GUARDIAN correspondent Rod Holmgren wrote:

> The hoods are shifting their support for the moment, from the Democratic Party's key men in the city council to Republican leadership.

A QUESTION OF MORALS: Threatening to upset these pre-arrangements was a growing movement for a Chicago LaGuardia. Three weeks ago four clergymen appealed to both major parties for a candidate they could support. By last week before Hunter's nomination there were 41 clergymen who signed a joint statement declaring that unless the Republicans put up an outstanding candidate they would support an independent Good Government nominee.

The clergymen complained:

> We cannot see how we as upholders of private and public morals can teach our youth respect for law and order with so poor an example set for them by the city fathers. . . . Gangster and hoodlum elements seem to have prevented any forthright action against syndicated crime, and have worked their way into the councils of both political parties.

On housing their statement said:

> Distressed families are not only doubling up but living in old garages, dilapidated buses and stables. . . . Meanwhile countless families are burned out of their homes and suffer death, indignities and insufferable living conditions, breeding delinquency, immorality and crime, and taking a heavy toll in terms of the breaking up of family life. As spiritual leaders we can no longer remain silent.

Holmgren commented:

> If the papers don't boycott the preachers, maybe it'll really come to something.

LA SALLE ST. FRONT: Sid Ordower, legislative director of the Illinois Progressive Party, charged:

> Republicans are preparing to nominate a nobody to guarantee the re-election of Kennelly as mayor. Highly-placed Republicans on LaSalle Street want Kennelly as mayor. . . . Kennelly is a wonderful front for the LaSalle Street boys and the real estate combines who have successfully prevented a program for relieving Chicago's criminal housing shortage by building on vacant land. They gouge millions from Chicago's innocent rent victims and they are behind Kennelly's program for continuing the vicious policy of segregation.
>
> The people must look elsewhere than the Republican Party to provide the opposition to Kennelly's candidacy.

The LaGuardia Chicago needed was still nowhere in sight.

FREEDOMS

Oath era 'horror & failure'—ACLU

IN the mail of each of California's 120 state legislators on New Year's Day was a greeting card from the Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act (requiring loyalty oaths from all state employes and civil defense volunteers). The cover showed three figures representing freedom of speech, thought and the written word. Inside was a short sermon on "Who Is Loyal?", with this main point:

> The demand for external conformity is in itself un-American and disloyal to the best ideals and the deepest experience of the American people.

The American Civil Liberties Union made a new legal challenge of the law before the State Supreme Court, arguing that it is unconstitutional on a number of points. The special loyalty oath required of University of California employes was blistered in a special report by the ACLU, which said that damage to the school has brought it to the brink of "total disaster." It accused the Board of Regents of an "act of blundering incompetence", described the first year of the campus fight against it as "a period of horror and failure" which brought a complete breakdown of morale.

MORE PROTESTS: The convention of the American Anthropological Assn., meeting in San Francisco, condemned the oath requirement as "an act of injustice destructive of the morale of scholarship and inimical to the interests of American society." In Oxford, Ohio, the fourth national assembly of the Student Christian Assn. Movement denounced loyalty oaths "and any other measures curtailing academic freedom." Pending before the Third District Court of Appeals in California is the suit of 18 U. of C. professors who refused to sign.

AGAINST THE TIDE: These others fought encroachments upon U.S. liberties during the week:

• New York members of the Intl. Workers Order formed a Policyholders Protective Committee and journeyed to Albany on Monday to tell Gov. Dewey to call off the state's court action seeking to dissolve the organization. The committee's position:

> Any proposition to seize the property of 162,000 policyholders in the amount of $110,000,000 in insurance, $7,000,000 in assets and turn them over to monopoly insurance companies because of political opinion falsely ascribed to a few officials, should never have been presented to an American court.

• Former Rep. Vito Marcantonio joined other lawyers to defend William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, at his trial for contempt of Congress in Washington beginning Jan. 10. The defense sought dismissal of the indictment on the ground that it was returned by a grand jury of government employes subject to a loyalty oath and therefore incapable of "a fair and impartial finding . . . involving an organization listed . . . as 'subversive'." The charge was brought against Patterson when he refused to surrender records to the House Lobby Committee.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL: In Pittsburgh last week a trial began of three Communist leaders, Steve Nelson, James Dolsen and Andrew Onda, on an old and seldom-used state sedition law. A plea for a change of venue was denied. The prosecution admitted a defense charge that it had spied on prospective jurors.

In Washington the Un-American Activities Committee recommended that Congress legalize wire-tapping, and urged an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act to permit prosecution of union leaders who resign from the Communist Party to comply with the law.

In Albany, N. Y., an attorney for the Newsdealers Assn. of Greater New York asked Gov. Dewey and the state attorney general to ban the **Daily Worker** from newsstands.

In Brooklyn the Bar Assn. prepared to draw up a "canon of ethics" that would disbar Communist lawyers and prevent Communists from becoming lawyers.

In New York City the American Labor Party urged public hearings before the Board of Education takes any action on recommendations that eight school teachers be dismissed because they refused to answer a political quiz.

ROBBER, PLEASE

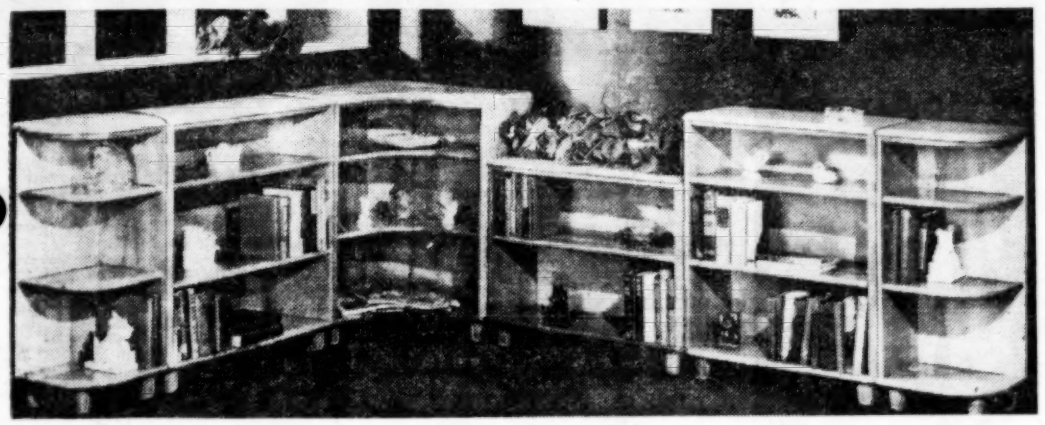
You pay 10c a call, firm gets 10 million

ON Jan. 6, the N.Y. Telephone Co. fixed its coin boxes to double the take, raising the price of a local call from a nickel to a dime. The grab is estimated at $10,100,000 a year.

Tacked onto the rate increases for business and home service levied since June, 1949, the total boost is $49,450,000 a year.

Net income of the phone company for the year ending June 30, 1950, was $39,198,453, an increase of $14,951,684 over 1949. But phone company bookkeepers, in winning authorization for the increase, complained to the state Public Service Commission that its surpluses were "withering."

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE



914L 924 927 928 930 914R

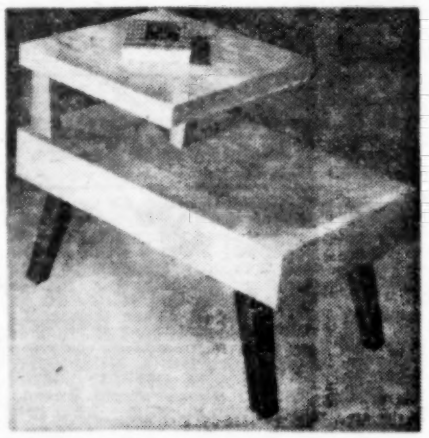
SECTIONAL BOOKCASES

Solid birch, Wheat or Maple finish, all pieces 33" high except No. 928 (25" for under window), shelves adjustable. All units 10½" deep. Normal retail price range, $25 to $50 per section.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE PRICES

No.	Item	Length	Price
914L	left end bookcase	13½"	$18.50
914R	right end bookcase	13½"	$18.50
924	bookcase	24 "	$23.50
930	bookcase	30 "	$26.00
936	bookcase (not pictured)	36 "	$29.00
927	corner bookcase	27 "	$35.00
928	under-window bookcase	28 "	$18.50

Order by number. Specify wheat or maple finish. Delivery 6-8 weeks.



FUNCTIONAL MODERN STEP TABLE

All solid hardwood (oak, mahogany, poplar used). Surface 16½x30", 23½" high, with step. Mitred flush drawer. Available in Cordovan, Bleached Mahogany, Limed Oak, African Oak. Specify whether desired in all one finish or with black lacquer legs as above. Other two-tone combinations $2 extra. All black lacquer, $3 extra.

Normal retail price $89.95 up
GUARDIAN PRICE $57.50*

MATCHING COFFEE TABLE.

Surface 22½x44x15½" high; two mitred drawers. Available in all finishes and combinations as explained above.

Normal retail price $119 up
GUARDIAN PRICE $69.50*

INNERSPRING MATTRESS AND BOX SPRING

(SOLD IN COMBINATION ONLY)

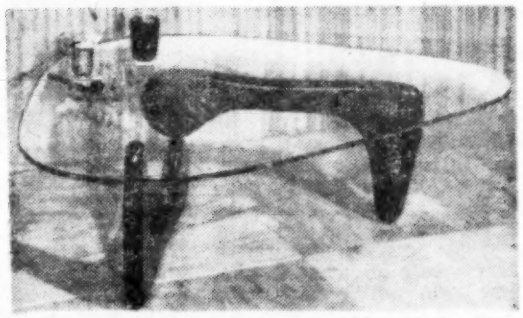
MATTRESS: 180-coil innerspring unit with box edge, lace tufts (no buttons), white cotton felt filling with sisal insulators, 7-oz. blue and white striped ticking. Extra firm construction on request.

BOX SPRING: 63-coil, hand-tied, matching tick. Available in full size (54") or twin size (39").

Normal retail price, $80 up.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE PRICE $65

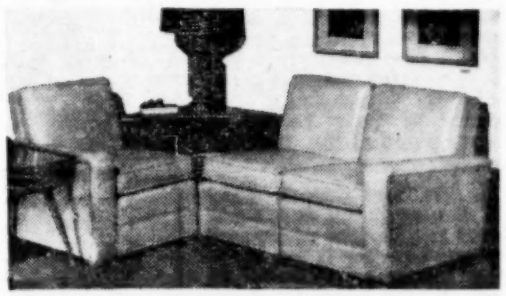
With legs (specify light or dark wood), $4 extra. Available for immediate delivery.



FREE FORM COCKTAIL TABLE

World famous design. Surface beveled plate glass ½" thick and 50x36" in area. Legs in black laquer as shown or your choice of other finishes listed with Step Table (left). Normal retail price $139 up GUARDIAN PRICE $79.50*

* GUARDIAN PRICES INCLUDE DELIVERY of any of these tables to Metropolitan New York, New Jersey Westchester, Connecticut, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Detroit, Chicago. Delivery 8 weeks. Other localities, write for delivery details.



SECTIONAL SOFA

Three-pieces covered with washable Vinylite plastic in a dozen color selections, guaranteed not to peel or crack. Specifications: platform base of arch-type spring on steel channels, cushioned with latex, curled hair, felt and wood fibres; backs, coiled springs over arch spring construction. Spring unit removable cushions upholstered with long-staple cotton. Padded arms.

Available in red, ivory, beige, gray, blue, coral, emerald green, chartreuse, lime, lipstick red, canary yellow, jade.

Normal retail price for complete sofa $230.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE PRICE

No.	Item	Price
29S	Sofa complete	$175
29c	Center section	$ 45 each
29L-R	Left and right sections (facing)	$ 65 each

Specify color and preference for wheat or mahogany finish on legs. Delivery 4-6 weeks.

IMPORTANT

In ordering, be sure to specify first and second choice in color or finish where variety is offered. Please include full payment with order. Shipping charges collect unless otherwise stated. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Unusual value in mattresses

THIS COLUMN has made an independent comparison-shopping survey of the mattress offer made by the new **Guardian Buying Service** and can recommend it as a really unusual comparative value at this time.

The GUARDIAN is offering an innerspring mattress and box spring at $65 for the complete set. A comparable set offered by Sears Roebuck, this department finds, is priced at $90, and even this is reasonable compared to retail-store prices on mattresses these days.

In buying a mattress, there are three points in particular to check: the number of coils, the quality of the ticking, and the filling. The specifications of the GUARDIAN mattress measure up to standard quality in all three respects. The innerspring unit is 180 coils, upholstered by layers of cotton-felt with sisal insulators.

STURDY TICKING: The ticking is 7-ounce ACA (woven blue-and-white stripe). Many medium-price mattresses have only 6-ounce ticking (the top grade is 8); in some cheaper mattresses the ticking is not the durable woven stripe, but merely has the stripes **printed** on in imitation of better-grade ticks. A fairly heavy ticking of the quality on the GUARDIAN mattress is important not only to resist wear, but to help keep a mattress from sagging.

The box spring has 63 hand-tied coils, good standard quality, and minus the divan legs may be used with any bed.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE aims to provide an easy, safe way to shop by mail for quality-tested articles, without knuckling under to price gouges or deterioration of quality. All items offered are judged excellent buys by our consumer consultants. Prices—even with shipping costs—are lower than normal mail order prices and much more advantageous than you will ordinarily find in department stores for goods of the same high quality and specifications.

Items will continue to be offered only as long as supply is available at stable prices. Therefore we urge you to consider the articles offered immediately, while they last.

Your patronage of the GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE will be a real boon to yourself and your budget, as well as a genuine help to the GUARDIAN.

The delivery cost in the GUARDIAN offer is paid by the buyer at his end, and in most cases will amount to no more than $2.50 to $6 for each mattress-spring combination, depending on the distance from New York.

"Nylonized" hosiery superior

A new method of processing nylon hose in a solution of granular nylon corrects several noticeable defects, hosiery experts report. By sealing the stitches, the new process makes the hose more run-resistant, and lessens the nylon "clammy feeling."

Old World Table Linen

Many world-famous European linens are no longer available in American department stores. The GUARDIAN is able to offer its readers the following EXQUISITE, ALL PURE LINENS at prices lower by half than they once sold for in American stores.

In Ordering, Check Item Numbers Below		Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
FROM RUSSIA:				
1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Peach, rose, blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, lavender,	56x68	9.50	6.90
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Green, gold, blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	WHITE WITH BLUE BORDER			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA—ALL DOUBLE DAMASK:				
6	Hemstitched. 8 napkins. Cream	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Open work design. 8 napkins Blue, gold, green.	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	White. Hemstitched. 12 napkins	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	White. Hemstitched. 12 napkins	70x108	30.00	20.00
9a	Blue, green, white. 12 extra large napkins	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	White damask. 8 napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
PILLOWCASES:				
12	Before hemming. Pure Irish linen. Threads drawn by hand	43x38		5.50 a pair
13	Domestic percale. No starch. Thread drawn hems	42x36		9.20 a doz.
TOWELS:				
14	Kitchen towel	18x34		7.50 per doz.
14a	Face towels Floral design	20x36		9.50 per doz.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE, 17 Murray Street, New York 7

BOOKS FOR PROGRESS

Up from Salem and down to McCarthy

By Cedric Belfrage

IN the Middle Ages tempests destroyed property, women had miscarriages, horses threw riders, cattle died, caterpillars devoured harvests—and an old crone with a hooked nose was seen in the vicinity. What more proof was needed that the crone brought these calamities to pass through mysterious powers of witchcraft?

Today troubles beset America—and

> . . . 150,000,000 Americans are asked to believe that 75,000 Communists have the power to undermine the economy and, like termites, nibble away at the ideological structure. . . . Words are bandied about which seem to suggest secret power and mysterious influence: "apparatus," "factions," "cell," "operative," "agent" and so forth. . . The reds are described as though their unity were fabricated from a special steel. . . The myth is essential because, in its absence, the size of the minority alone would make the propaganda ludicrous.

GOD'S RED GIFT: Carey McWilliams, California lawyer and scholar and author of some of our best works on race prejudice, has undertaken in his new book* a detailed study of the causes, functions and techniques of the heresy-hunt in history and in its current U.S. revival.

What is heresy? McWilliams calls it "a challenge to the existing social order in time of storm": in our case here, he says, the challenge of socialism (not "communism"—socialism "advocated by angelic missionaries would still be objectionable") to capitalism in crisis.

The "reds" provide "a universal alibi" and are "God's gift to the American demagogue," who must harass but not exterminate them because "a successful extermination campaign would be a major disaster."

THE ROAD TO RUIN: The parallels with historic witch-hunts which no one today would dare defend are startling. Sen. McCarthy's charges and tactics were "thoroughly stereotyped as early as the 13th century." The Feinberg Law (N.Y.) statement that "reds" spread classroom propaganda "so subtle as to defy detection" is exactly what was said of the necromancy of Salem witches (if the propaganda is too subtle for experts to detect, asks McWilliams, how can it be effective with children?). The Budenzes, Chambers and Bentleys are the same recanting heretics who were granted "indulgences" by Spain's Inquisitors in return for denouncing others.

And what is the end? Sanity may return, but the popular fear created by a witch-hunt may lead to such a "destructive self-hatred in society" that (as in Spain and Germany) a nation may pay the price of "intellectual ruin and political and moral decay."

FREEDOM FOR WHAT? The great illusion—so successfully revived in America today—that makes heresy-hunts possible is that "ideas" have an independent existence; that if you can stop "bad" ones by persecuting those who hold them, everything will be all right. This is the bubble McWilliams has set out above all to burst, by reminding Americans of the simple fact that ideas come out of conditions and can only be changed as conditions that inspire them are changed.

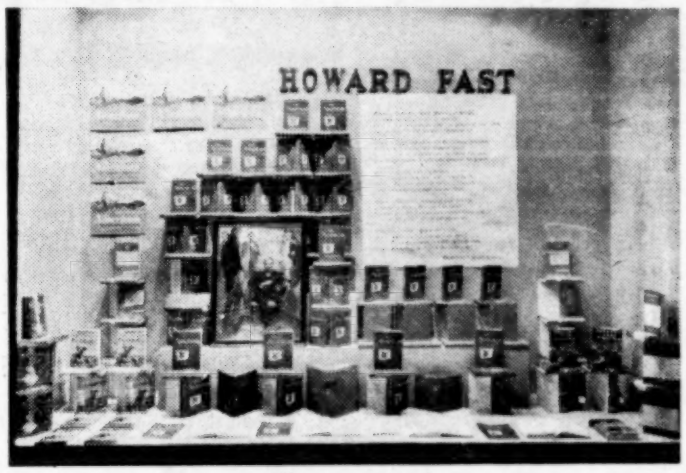
McWilliams is a man who not only takes action to protect liberty, but knows what it is. He sees through the sham of people calling themselves free ("I can do what I like, can't I?") when the very ground of democracy is being undermined through suppression of ideas by fear, so that alternatives to the official ideology cannot be chosen because they are not heard.

THE POINT IS MADE: The main job of suppression is being done without passing any laws: that is why it is so dangerous. There is, for example, no law forbidding McWilliams to write this sane, masterly book exposing to the light the true nature and extent of modern America's reversion to Torquemada. His publisher is "free" to put it out and is one of the very few with enough guts to do so.

But the bookstores? They **could** display it but it is more prudent not to. The reviewers? They **could** review it but there are so many safer books to discuss. And the public? Unless they read the GUARDIAN or the one or two other heretical papers which are kept from broad circulation by exactly the same fear techniques of the witch-hunters, the public won't know it exists.

So the fate of McWilliams' book, published nearly two months ago and still blushing almost unseen, proves McWilliams' point better than its own arguments. But the time will come when it will be known as one of the very few important works of social criticism published in this American Dark Age.

**WITCH HUNT: THE REVIVAL OF HERESY. By Carey McWilliams. Little Brown. 361 pp. $3.50.*



The spelling out of an era

When Howard Fast's novel "The American" was published in the summer of 1946 Scribner's gave over a whole window to a display of his books, along with a stirring poem by Vachel Lindsay on the American past—about which Fast has written so much. Today these same books are condemned as communist propaganda and buried by the booksellers with Fast's newest book "The Proud and the Free." "It raises an interesting question," says Fast, "as to those most illusory shades of patriotism and treason. When is patriotism not patriotism? When is treason not treason?"

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

MID-WINTER FILM FESTIVAL: 7 film classics from Eisenstein's complete Mexican footage, "Que Viva Mexico." Jan. 17-18, "Time in the Sun" and "Romance Sentimental." Jan. 19, 20, 21, "Thunder Over Mexico" and "Mexican Symphony" (first showing). CORONET-LOUVRE, 366 N. LaCienega. CR. 5-7170. Cont. from 7 p.m. Matinee Sun., 3 p.m. Adm. 85c, inc. tax.

FILM EVENING. "Generals Without Buttons," delightful French satire with Jean Murat and Claude May, plus outstanding shorts. Waldo Salt, intermission commentator. Fri., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. sharp. Adm. 55c, inc. tax. 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

Boston

WANT SPRING IN JANUARY? Come see SPRING—gay and exciting Soviet film, plus short subjects on Fri., Jan. 19, 8 p.m. Community Church, 565 Boyston St., Boston. Adm. 60c, tax inc. Auspices: American-Soviet Friendship Council.

New York

DR. SCOTT NEARING, famous economist, in regular winter series, "Freedom and Social Responsibility," Jan. 16, 23, 30., at 8 p.m. Community Church, 40 E. 35 St., NYC.

CLASSIFIED

General

FOR SALE — Complete set of 12 "Critics Group" and 9 "Dialectics" booklets. What am I offered? S. G. Bloomfield, 900 Powell St., San Francisco 8, Calif.

ELECTRIC HEATER—FAN FORCED. Rated "Best Buy" by Independent Consumer Research Orgn. REG. $11.95, SPEC. $7.95. Standard Brand Distributors, 143 4th Av. (13th & 14t Sts.), NYC. GR 3-7819.

WANTED: AGENTS TO SELL ADS for the GUARDIAN. Exclusive territories, good commissions. Write today for full details. NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N .Y.

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EARN MONEY IN YOUR SPARE TIME. Wanted—agents to sell Kanco Blades. Write Kanco, 17 Murray St., New York 7.

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New York

REWARD: Small purse containing bills lost at Golden Gate meeting of Warsaw delegates on Dec. 11. Reward for return with contents to NATL. GUARDIAN office, 17 Murray St., New York City.

YOUNG MAN PIANIST wants furnished kitchenette apt. or cold water flat. Wil consider sharing apt. Prefer Manhattan. Write particulars to Gerald Frank, 22 East Elm, Chicago, Ill.

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